

159

[REDACTED] NID 81 [REDACTED]

February 05, 1981

[REDACTED] -----

SITUATION REPORTS

POLAND

Solidarity chairman Walesa yesterday called for nationwide sit-in strikes if the government uses force against striking workers in the southern province of Bielsko-Billa. [REDACTED]

The appeal by Walesa came after the government commission abruptly terminated negotiations with the strikers and returned to Warsaw. The talks apparently are deadlocked over the strikers' demand that local officials be fired for corruption. The officials have offered their resignations, but the government has refused to dismiss them under duress. [REDACTED]

Walesa's action may prompt a new debate within the party leadership over the use of force and over party leader Kania's overall policies. A Central Committee session--now slated to begin next Monday--will provide the party the opportunity to reaffirm Kania's moderate course or to set out in new directions. [REDACTED]

There continues to be considerable resistance within the Polish leadership to the introduction of force. The Polish Minister of the Interior, for example, [REDACTED] recently that any use of force could lead to anarchy. The faction advocating more forceful measures--reportedly led by Politburo member Olszowski--may nevertheless now argue that Walesa has presented the regime with an ultimatum that it cannot ignore. This faction presumably believes its argument is strengthened by the continuing pressure for a firmer stance by the Soviet and East European media. [REDACTED]

Possible Personnel Changes

There has been increasing speculation in Warsaw that Prime Minister Pinkowski will be replaced, a change that would affect the balance of power within the leadership and probably signal the regime's future course of action. Four Politburo members have been mentioned as possible successors to Pinkowski. The appointment of

--continued
Approved [REDACTED] 1999
Date AUG 154
169

February 05, 1981

either Mieczyslaw Jagielski or Kazimierz Barcikowski probably would indicate a continuation of Kania's policies. The appointment of Tadeusz Grabski or Stefan Olszowski would signal a victory of the hardliners.

Soviet Reaction

Moscow's escalating attacks on Solidarity seem designed in part to justify repressive measures against the union to foreign and domestic audiences.

Soviet propaganda chief Zamyatin portrayed the situation in Poland in bleak terms during a meeting last Friday. Zamyatin, who is known to be personally close to President Brezhnev and who spent a week in Poland in mid-January, accused Solidarity of pursuing the aims of a political opposition.

In a noteworthy shift from Moscow's earlier hopes that the Catholic Church would restrain Solidarity, Zamyatin displayed disenchantment with the Church's role. By claiming that Solidarity had gone beyond all limits after Walesa's return from Rome, he implied that the Pope was acting as an instigator. Zamyatin contended that the Polish bishops were advocating the establishment of a second political party, although he admitted that Cardinal Wyszynski has shown moderation.

Zamyatin warned that while the USSR has displayed great restraint, it would not tolerate an attempt to change the socialist status of Poland. The dire tone of his remarks contrasts sharply with the earlier Soviet practice of downplaying the crisis in official conversations with Westerners and suggest an attempt to lay out the Soviet case for any future action against Solidarity.

Meanwhile, Moscow continues to sharpen its public attacks on Solidarity. *Pravda* yesterday reprinted the East German report published on Monday accusing the leaders of Solidarity of openly working for the overthrow of the regime in alliance with the dissidents. This is the most serious charge against the union to appear in the Soviet press to date.

--continued

NID 81

February 05, 1981

Last Sunday, a speaker at the weekly Leningrad lecture series, which presents interested Soviet citizens with a franker discussion of issues than is usually found in the official media, delivered a scathing personal attack on Walesa and claimed that one of Solidarity's political demands was a decrease in defense spending. He stated that this would bring into question Poland's Warsaw Pact obligations. By his treatment of the continuing labor unrest, the lecturer seemed to be deliberately stirring resentment against the "irresponsibility" of the Polish workers.

Despite such negative commentary, the Soviet press yesterday carried Kania's reference in his speech on Monday to the need for "patience" in dealing with Solidarity. Moscow's rendition, however, implied that this patience was limited.

East European Reactions

Hungary recently has taken a harsh approach toward Solidarity--a significant change in Budapest's public commentaries on events in Poland that signals Hungarian support for any tough measures the Polish party might take against the union. The party daily claims that Solidarity is "plunging Poland into chaos" and is thwarting efforts by the Polish party to "correct" past mistakes. The paper expressed "sympathy" with the party, but made it clear that Budapest wants to see steps taken that would stem the current cycle of unrest.

The Hungarians are becoming increasingly worried about the economic costs of a prolongation of the Polish crisis and are particularly irritated by the recent influx of Poles, who are buying up scarce consumer goods. East Germany and Czechoslovakia have imposed travel restrictions on the Poles, intended in part to curb such activities.